LADAKH SURVEY REPORT

Preface

This report should be considered as an addendum to my thesis on the sociolinguistic situation in Ladakh. The main distinction between this report and the thesis lies here in an explicit discussion of Bible translation as relevant to Ladakh. As I am assuming that readers of this report have access to the thesis, I will not reiterate the information contained in it, except for clarity's sake.

Introduction

The main issue being addressed here is whether or not the Ladakhi people need another Bible translation. They currently have access to a complete Bible in English (a national langauge), Hindi (also a national language), Urdu (a state language) and Tibetan (the traditional language of religion for the area). This survey has involved efforts to determine the extent of linguistic similarity between Tibetan and Ladakhi, as well as the likelihood that any one of the available translations is acceptable from a sociolinguistic point of view. It is possible that the conclusions from this survey may be true for other Tibetan-related language groups, as well. There are broad similiarities between Himalayan language groups.

This report is based on two summers' worth of observation and linguistic survey work in Ladakh. In the summer of 1985, I focused on the Leh dialect and the Zanskari dialect and collected wordlists from Nubra as well. In 1986, intelligibility testing was done between Lhasa Tibetan and Leh Ladakhi. Wordlists were collected for the Shamma dialect of Ladakhi as well as for Purik and Balti, sister languages in the Western Tibetan language family. I was unable to visit Zanskar to do any intelligibility testing there. The plan was to do a triangulaiton between Zanskari, Leh Ladakhi and Lhasa Tibetan.

In addition to doing intelligibility testing and collecting wordlists, I continued to interview speakers of Ladakhi on an informal basis. Information gleaned during these interviews confirmed the conclusions I had drawn in my thesis and shed some new light in areas such as education.

I continue to believe that the Tibetan translation now in circulation is inadequate for the Ladakhi people. This is based on the results of our intellibility testing, as well as comments from educated Ladakhi speakers who unanimously said that the classical Tibetan translation was not adequate. Very few read that translation, prefering to use an English or Urdu translation. Oral Tibetan is NEVER used in church services, either for prayer or for teaching. (In fact, very rarely do the Christians even pray in Ladakhi, either corporately or individually.) The language used in the written translation is in a literary style that is not spoken anywhere, according to leading sources. Thus, there are very few people in Ladakh, outside of the monasteries who indeed can read Tibetan. And those in the monasteries are not fluently literate either, for the most part. And I think it is safe to say that a Tibetan translation will NEVER be adequate for those Ladakhis who follow Islam. This sector of the language group has very little, if anything, to do with classical Tibetan literature or script.

Given these facts it seems, then, that a separate Ladakhi translation is needed. The remaining questions revolve around whether one Ladakhi translation would be sufficient for speakers of all five dialects.

Summary

Linguistically, it seems that Tibetan is too unintelligible (at least in it's spoken form) to be adequately understood by Ladakhis. In the intellibility testing that was done this summer, a majority of those approached refused to even listen to the Tibetan text, saying that is was too difficult for them to understand. One Ladakhi who has studied Tibetan extensively did very poorly on the test.

What remains untested is the degree of comprehension extant in written communication, i.e. giving classical Tibetan literature to Ladakhis and testing their comprehension of the language in that manner. There is reason to believe that classical Tibetan in its written form and standard spoken Tibetan (i.e. Lhasa variety) are not identical. Thus, intellibility testing done only on the basis of oral texts is not entirely reliable in trying to determine the adequateness of a written Tibetan translation being used by Ladakhi speakers. As will be seen in the following comments, though, this second level of intelligibility testing seems unnecessary based on a variety of sociolinguistic factors.

Sociolinguistically, the Ladakhi language situation is a complex one, being affected by the fact that there are four languages (each with its own script) being used in society and taught in schools. Three of these scripts are associated with religious traditions that are mutually exclusive: Urdu (Islam), Bodhic (Buddhism) and Hindi (Hinduism). Each of these scripts is associated with a certain political position, as well: Urdu (Islamic state of Kashmir), Bodhic (region of Tibet) and Hindi (nation of India). These factors make it impossible to draw conclusions for the language group as a whole. THe main groups under consideration are Ladakhi Buddhists, Ladakhi Muslims and Ladakhi Christians.

From the point of view of linguistic similarity, I believe it is possible to say that all dialects of Ladakhi (excluding ChangThang, which I did not have access to for political and geographical reasons) are sufficiently mutually intelligible that one translation would suffice for them all. The question rearing it's head again, though, is one of sociolinguistic acceptability. Social divisions affecting the question of a single translation lie along religious lines.

Ladakhi Buddhists would relate most comfortably of all groups to a translation done in Bodhic script, due to their generations-old mindset which connects this script with the religious sphere of life. It is highly unlikely, however, that there is a sufficient level of literateness among them to USE mother tongue Scriptures in classical Tibetan. Acceptance of a translation in that script, as has been seen with the Tibetan translation now in circulation, is based mainly on respect for the scholarship involved and because the script is a cultural relic, i.e. it serves as a mark of ethnic identity (see thesis Chapter 6 for further explanation of the significance of this idea).

Ladakhi Muslims, however, currently identify most closely with the Perso-Arabic script, which carries positive religious connotations for them. Most Ladakhi Muslims who go to Islamic schools, and are trained to be literate first in this script and then in either Hindi or English. Bodhic script and/or classical Tibetan literature have no place in their system or way of life. This past summer, I heard a few stray comments to the effect that some Muslims are coming to regret the fact that for so long they have denied a place to Bodhic, which IS a strong vehicle of their culture. In neglecting

it, these few people felt they had weakened the links to their cultural heritage. Even though they practice Islam, they are NOT culturally Muslim in the way that their religious brothers to the West are. These types of sentiments were only expressed by a few people, but these few were involved in community leadership. Ladakhi Muslims are at present served best by the Urdu translation, though this is still a second language for them.

Most Ladakhi Christians relate best to either an English translation or the Urdu version, having acquired literacy skills in Urdu for purposes of higher education and/or business. As I was able to observe in church services and Bible studies, a Tibetan Bible is rarely seen other than on a bookshelf. It has only been publically read from on two occassions in the 5 months I was able to observe, and even at that the degree of comprehension by the congregation was close to nil. In interviewing key Christians (i.e. ones that were growing spiritually and showed signs of spiritual leadership in the Christian community), I discovered that none of them pray in their mother tongue and that they prefer to use the English Bible as it is easier for them to understand than the Tibetan version. This group includes several people who have been schooled in Bodhic script and literature. Even the preaching in the various services is rarely done in even their mother tongue. Again, the chief vehicles for communication in the church context are Urdu/Hindi and English. As far as I was able to determine, they revere the Tibetan translation more as a tribute to the scholarship involved in its production by a former pastor of their congregation.

I must qualify here, though, that the above comments are chiefly based on the demographic situation in Leh, the district center. Rural areas have far fewer Muslims and Christians, the majority being Buddhist. Another key difference is level of education. Literacy rates in Leh are around 24% for Leh, and under 18% for the rest of Ladakh combined. Thus, in addition to considering the diverse religious make-up of Ladakh, and the effect that has on any translation decisions, one must take note of the educational situation. In rural areas, which are strongly Buddhist, there is a good deal of loyalty to Bodhic script for cultural reasons, but very little USE of the script for communicative purposes. Even in Leh, the vehicle for day-to-day written communication is either Urdu, Hindi or English...NOT the Bodhic script.

In sum, the current Tibetan translation is not acceptable for two main reasons: 1) it is too linguistically diverse from Ladakhi to be an adequate vehicle for communicating the Scripture, and 2) the script used is not practical (both in view of the religious diversity in Ladakh and the fact that the script is mainly a cultural relic).

Linguistic Similarity

Due to a recently found fault in the computer program I used to caluclate 'cognate' percentages between the wordlists I've collected, accurate staticstics are not available at this time. By glancing through the attached wordlists, however, it is fairly obvious that the Ladakhi dialects (i.e. Zanskari, Nubra, Leh and Shamma) are closely related. Reported intelligibility would indicate that all dialects can understand Leh Ladakhi, although the reverse is not true for Zanskari and probably the ChangThang cialect also. Thus, on the basis of linguistic similarity, it sems that one Ladakhi translation would be sufficient for all dialects.

Intelligibility

There was a unanimous concensus among the Ladakhis tested and interviewed

that there is not much mutual intelligibility between Ladahi and Tibetan. Scholars estimated that Ladakhi people may understand 30-40% of what they hear in Tibetan, but no more than that. Due to the fact that Tibetan is tonal while Ladakhi is not, this opinion could be fairly well supported by the data found in comparing the two wordlists.

Bilingualism

No formal bilingualism testing was done at either time. It appears to be unnecessary, as no one language is vying for equal status with the mother tongue. Depending on the domain in focus, many Ladakhi people in 'urban' areas are quite conversant in Urdu, Hindi and/or English (see Chapters 3, 5 and 6 of my thesis for a more detailed explanation of language repertoires and usage). People in rural areas, however, have no motivation for learning a second language and are basically monolingual. This latter fact emphasizes the need for a separate Ladakhi translation, in my opinion.

Language Attitudes

Presently, the Ladakhi language (oral) serves as the main vehicle for ethnic identity in Ladakh. Speakers of Ladakhi thus have a very positive view of their mother tongue in its spoken form. Attitudes toward written language are a different story. Many people don't consider their language as needing to be written down because of the presence of other written languages that are far more functional than their other tongue is perceived to be in print. In fact, it is entirely possible that Ladakhi will never be accepted in print. There are historical instances of political leaders overtly discouraging the development of a Ladakhi orthography on the grounds that it could incite Ladakhi nationalism (see John Bray's articles on the history of the Moravian missionaries in Ladakh). To a certain extent this is still the case, although there is a state authorized culture academy which is working on the standardization of written Ladakhi. It looks suspiciously akin to classical Tibetan, however.

Language Use

Ladakhi is still the main language spoken, although allowances for Urdu, Hindi and English have been made in the domains of formal education, business and government. The mother tongue is still solidly entrenched in the domains of family and home, regardless of one's religious affiliation. And the mother tongue is the only language used in the promotion of local arts and literature.

Conclusions and Recommendations

In view of the above information as well (as the contents of my thesis) I see the most feasible plan to be that of producing a Ladakhi Bible translation in oral form (i.e. on cassette tape, or perhaps radio broadcasting) as a first step. With the low literacy rate, and the complicating factors present that seem to indicate the UNlikelihood of increased literacy in the mother tongue, a written translation would be of use to very few people.

As to dialect considerations, it seems that adaptations may be helpful in the case of Zanskari and ChangThang, two dialects that are the most diverse from the prestige dialect of the Leh area.

There is no readily apparent infrastructure, at this time, through which to begin a mother tongue translation. A trans'Himalayan committee, working on a revision of the classical Tibetan Bible, seems to think a Ladakhi translation is unnecessary. They see the Tibetan Bible as being sufficient. Therefore, not much support can be expected from this group at present.

There are a few Christians in other places that understand the weaknesses in the classical Tibetan Bible for Ladakhi people, and are supportive of the idea of a local translation. The key person in this category would be Elijah Gergan, a Ladakhi and the grandson of Joseb Gergan, main translator of the classical Tibetan Bible. Due to his already over-busy schedule, it is unlikely that he would be involved directly, but with his wide contacts, well-respected reputation across Asia and dedication to prayer, he could be a key person on a translation team. Indeed, he is independently supervising a man who is transcribing Balti Scripture portions from Roman script into Perso-Arabic script. Elijah is definitely 'sold' on the idea of vernacular translations. He is also a representative for the Bible Society of India,and has significant contacts in that network.

At present, the Christian community in Ladakh is unable to provide help. There are very few committed Christians and those few carry very responsible positions in the community that would prohibit extensive involvement in a translation project. It is my opinion that until there is spiritual awakening in the community, there will be little interest in a mother tongue translation.

As for the role of outsiders producing a translation, unless Indian nationals took an interest, it would be very unlikely that outsiders could get the job done. Government restrictions on foreigners in the area prevent more than a two month visit per year.

I see the most likely procedure for completing a Ladakhi translation resting with Indian citizens (preferably from Tibeto-Burman cultures) who could live and work among the people for longer stretches of time. There are monks in several monasteries, Karsha in particular, wh have expressed an interest in seeing a translation done...they may prove to be helpful co-workers. The other avenue to explore would be working from within the church. It would take time for outsiders to be accepted into the local church, but as is being proven by a couple from Gujarat, it is possible with patience and sensitivity.

Culturally, it would seem most appropriate to begin translating the Sermon on the Mount and the book of Proverbs. Shepherd passges and many of the Psalms could also be easily related to by those Ladakhis having Buddhist backgrounds.

Another factor to take into consideration is that many of the monasteries in Ladakh have been given Tibetan Bibles. Some of the monks CAN read Tibetan and have read parts of these Bibles. Such beginnings could be nurtured and developed further.

In any case, it appears that mother tongue translation work is still a ways off in terms of local people feeling the need or being part of the vision. I don't see this as particularly discouraging. Things have been known to take centuries, in God's scheme of things. But that is no reason NOT to patiently keep an eye on the situation and be ready to help when the time is ripe. Even noting some signs of life in the church this summer that were nowhere to be seen last year gives me hope and assurance that God is at work

in Ladakh.

One other consideration that needs watching is the work of the Culture Academy. If, in time, their efforts at standardizing colloquial Ladakhi in written form become accepted in the community, and literacy via this orthography began to spread, a written translation may then be justifiable. But this seems to be decades away, at best.

I continue to be in close communication with Elijah, who is very much interested in seeing a Ladakhi translation done. I am also in touch with 3 leaders of the church in Leh, in order to monitor the life of the Christian community there. Both contacts know that our organization is interested in helping them if and when the time comes for specific steps to be taken towards a mother tongue translation.

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Christianity in Ladakh: The Moravian Church from 1920-1956. John Bray, 41 Norwood Park Road, West Norwood -- London SE 27 9 UB Great Britain

p. 210 Gergan's work was puzzling to those reading in Darjeeling...it lapsed into colloquial Ladakhi!

p. 210 Phuntsog and Vottoz did a revision, knew Greek and classical Tibetan between them; this version praised for accuracy and beauty of Tibetan style; many Christians educated in European model schools find it easier to read English or Urdu Bibles.

p. 211 Eliyah Thsetan Phuntsog...tehsildar, tried to promote writing Ldki. phonetically instead of using complicated classical Tibetan spelling...but this met with incredible opposition; devout Buddhists regarded any attempt to downgrade the language of the Buddhist scriptures as a form of blasphemy (per Vittoz). Gov't. feared that reforms in script could stir up a new Ldki linguistic nationalism. Because of such pressures, he resigned in 1951.

p. 212 Phuntsog believed in contextalizing religion and worked at making language and style more appropriate to Ldki culture. He composed hymns using Ldki tunes rather than Western ones, and wrote a lengthy poem in Tibetan literary style, Chhgthsal Gyanchuma, 80 stanzas of adoration depicting the life of Christ....perhaps his Buddhist training as a monk affected these works...he was presidposed to a contemplative style of thinking and worship.

p. 212 1928 Bishop EF Peter sent ment to Changthang, Nubra and Zanskar... they used paintd scrolls, partly modelled on Buddhist thangkas, and carved scriptural texts on rocks by the wayside. These efforts had little effect.

p. 213 Phuntsog was under fire because legally in J&K one couldn't inherit property from a Buddhist if he was a Christian...that meant Phuntsog was in danger of losing his inheritance. He didn't renounce his faith, however.

p. 213 Poo congregation in Kinnaur district (H.P.) fell into trap of 'rice Christians', given gardens to work, converted for wrong reasons, and then the community became known for having low caste people; family pressures from would be converts not to join that low ranking group. Poo mission closed down in 1924, most converts lapsed back into Buddhism.

p. 214 problem in Leh congreagation finding Christian spouses for youth.

p. 214 some lost thru emigration...Gergan's own sons left Ladakh for govt. jobs...S.S. to Srinagar for forestry service. It was to the credit of the Christian community that they were talented and educated, but they paid a price...it deprived the church of trained and experienced young leaders. 1920's there were plans to start a Bible school in Leh, but it never got off the ground.

p. 215 1947 & 48 served to threaten the position of foreign missionaries; maharajah's forces came as close as Phyang, to Leh; Driver'd feard they may be labelled as spies. Indian commander, however, arrived in 1948 with full powers as governor of Ladakh and appointed an emergency council of Ministers...Norman Driver became prime minister,

Mary Driver was Health Minister and Eliezer Joldan, a newly graduted Christian B.ED. was appointed Education minister.

p. 216 Vittoz stayed until 1956, was not any longer addressed as sahib... saw this as a real good sign; 1951 Phuntsog joined the church mission as a full time worker of equal status with expats. Yonathan Paljor joined theological college in UP. Paljor and Phuntsog became full time leaders when expats left.

p. 216 1963 Phuntsog started a full time school for Tibetan refugees in Rajpur, UP. 1980, Moravian school in Leh reopened. Total membership in Moravian in Ladakh is 400, with 140 comunicants.

Ladakh Church
History notes
p. 2.

	PURIK	BALTI	SHIMSHAT	ANDO	Zanskari	Tibetan	Lek	Nubra
1. body	rgo	rgo	rgo		zunfo	gusu	zukspo	zukspa
2. head	go	go	go	rgo	go	ʔu	go	go
3. hair	repl	reyal	ša	šta				
4. face	rdon	rdon	rdoŋ	rdon	doŋ	šærɕ	duŋ	ldoŋ
5. eye	mik	mik	mik	mök	mik	čæ	mikh	mikh
6. ear	šna	šna	namčo?	namjak				
7. nose	šru	namsul	naku	na	na	šaŋ	nakum	nakuŋ
8. mouth tongue	kalbak	ka	ke	kha	ka	šæ	kha	kha
9. teeth	so	so	so	so				
10. tongue	skaŋ	slče	lše	ssče				
11. breast								
12. belly	sela	sela	totpa	ho?	totpa	södu	tutpa	pa
13. arm	frakpa	frikpa	lakpa	lokwa	lakpa	čayər	lakpa	ləkpa
14. elbow	krimoks	p'orsuk	temoŋs	čoŋər				
15. palm	ləktil	ləktil	laktil	ləgti	laktil	čarti	lakhtil	ləktil

	PURIK	BALTI	SHAMSKAT	AMDO	Zanskari	Lhasa Tibetan	(Ladakhi) Leh	Ladakhi Nubra
16. finger	dzagu	dzugu	dzugu	dzgə	dzugu	čaŋzup	tsigu	dziụ
17. nail	sɛnmo	sɛnmo	sɛnmo	semoŋ				
18. leg	ʂkʰaŋ	ʂkʰaŋ	ʂkʰaŋ	laʂa?	khʌŋpa	šəb	kampa	skaŋ
19. skin	ʂbuksfaʰ	ʂbəkspaʰ	pʌkspaʰ	bəkhpa	pafa	ʔkuba	bəkspha	bəkspa
20. bone	roʊspaʰ	roʊspaʰ	ša	ərupaʰ	r̃ifha	kërë	ruspə	r̃uspa
21. heart	ʂnɪŋ	ʂnɪŋ	hruspaʰ	nyʌŋ				
22. blood	rkʰuk	rkʰuk	ṭakʰ	čükʰ	ṭakʰ	guta?	takʰ	ṭaḳ
23. urine	ʂčɪn	ʂčɪn		—				
24. feces				—				
25. village	yul	yul	yul	tonsup	yul	ṭonset	gam/yul	yul
26. house	nəŋ	nəŋ	kʰaŋba	kʰʌŋba	khaŋpha	simgạ·	khampa	khama
27. roof	hunduk	tok	stag	khʌŋlü	tokʰ	khegʰụ·	katokʰ	ṭokh
28. door	ʐgo	rʐgo	tsikpaʰ	rgo	rgo	simgo?	go	rgo
29. firewood	tukšɪŋ	tupšɪŋ	lakpʰuzga	čama	šɪŋ	šɪŋ	meya duk ze šuŋ	šɪŋ
30. broom	ʐoli	ʐuli	ogsmo	šun	o ḷmo	ča·ma	omoř	buřse

	PURIK	BALTI	SHAMSKAT	AMDO	Zanskari	Lhasa Tibetan	Ladakhi: Leh	Ladakhi: Nubra
31. mortar	šɬtun	s^htun	$š^l$tun	gegdoŋ				
32. pestle	s^htunbu	s^htunbu	tsigbu	guko				
33. hammer	V	martal	hatura	ʔo				
34. knife	gri	gri	di	čar	ti	tabti	ti	ti
35. axe	tul	byabzon	ṣtare	stari	šØaři	taře	sØtaři	sṭaři
36. rope	takba^h	takba^h	takbah	ŕeke	t^hakpha	takpa	thakpa	t^hakpha
37. thread	skutpa^h	skutpa^h	pulistar	?				
38. needle	kap	kap	skutpa	kʌp				
39. cloth	ɬdas	ɬdas	d^ras	ɬe				
40. ring	serdups	serdup	serdup	dzəkšči	seřdup	šablәm	tserdup	tseřup
41. sun	nyima	nyima	namka	nyema	nyima	nyima	nyima	nyima
42. moon	ldzəŋ	ldzəŋ	ldawa ldzimo (?)	ldawa	ldawet	ldawa	ldawa	ldawa
43. sky	nam	nam	nyima	nʌm	nam	nəm	nam	nam
44. star	skarma	skarma	karma	ʂkařma				
45. rain	čařpa	čařpa	čařpa	čařwa^h	čarpha	ča·bə	čařpa	čařpha

	PURIK	BALTI	SHAMSKAT	AMDO	Zanskari	Lhasa Tibetan	Ladakhi: Leh	Ladakhi: Nubra
46. water	čhu	čhu	čhu	čʰü	čhu	čhų	čhu	čhu
47. river	čukha	ʳgyamsoˀ	tsaŋbo	čuggo	są fho	tsaŋbo	tsʰaŋspo	yuřa
48. cloud	sprin	sprin	ri	śə̃n̥				
49. lightening	ʳzbʸʌl	nyatzeř	ka	ʳdukʰ				
50. rainbow	nyima čuturna	nyima čuturna	za	ʰdjha				
51. wind	ʰlung	ʰlung	ʰlungpo	ʰlontsip	lunfo	hagpa	thaltsup	hlung̣lak
52. stone	ˡdoa	ˡdoa	ˡdoa	ˡd̥o	ldwa	do	ldowa	ʳt̥oa
53. path	dulbah	peṭ	pʰakbų	lum	lam	tsəŋ ləm	lam	lam
54. sand	tima	tima	byama	tala				
55. fire	me	me	ʰlaŋpa	nye	mę̨	mę̨	me	me
56. smoke	ṯuṭpaʰ	ṯuṭpaʰ	tutpah	ˡṯoᵃ	ṯuṭpah	tuwa	tuṭpa	ṯuṭpa
57. ash	taˡbaʰ	taˡbaʰ	təlbə	ta	koʔtal	khotę̨	koktaˡ	khoktaˡ
58. mud	ˡdok	kalʌkʰ	ˡdokʰ	dambakʰ	kalak	dag pa	kalak	ldam
59. dust	taltsup	sasup	sa	tala	talbah	tala	talba	taˡtsup
60. gold	seř	seř	seř	siř	seř	seř	tseř	seř

	PURIK	BALTI	SHAMSKHAMDO		Zanskari	Lhasa Tibetan	Ladakhi: Leh	Ladakhi: Nubra
61. tree	sl̥čaŋma	čaŋma	čaŋmo	šaŋdoŋ	čaŋma	šiŋdǫ	lčaŋma	ščaŋma
62. leaf	loma	loma	loma	loma	loma	loma	nolma	lščaŋ lo
63. root	yɪldəkʰ	yɪldəkʰ	bɪtakʰ	stsapa				
64. horn	ṭaču	ṭaču	tserma	tserma	tseṛma	tseṛma	tsermaṇ	šaksuk (?)
65. flower	mendokʰ	mendokʰ	medokʰ	metokʰ	mentokʰ	meto?	mentok	mentokh
66. fruit	kʰazas	kʰazas	kəzas	situp	šiŋtok	šiŋdo?	kʰazes	kʰazes
67. mango	U	U	U	——	——	šiŋdo? amṛa	l̥ao	——
68. banana	nyoti	nyoti	U	——	——	tsaluma	——	——
69. wheat (husked)	kro	kro	tʰro?	stso	he	mɛ·ndza?	-nas	nas
70. millet	——	——	——	——	——	dɛ̨·	——	——
71. rice	——	bras	bras	ndɛ	dʌs	——	das	das
72. potato	U	U	U	yoŋi	——	šǫ·gǫ?	——	šŋyɛrma
73. eggplant	U	U	U	——	~~d~~	tsɪvɛ̨	——	——
74. groundnut	U	U	U (Chinese)	——	——	——	——	——
75. chili	marpo nyerma	marpo nyerma	nyerma	ladiu	tsante	——	nyɪrma	——

	PURIK	BALTI SHAMSKAT		AMDO	Zanskari	Lhasa Tibetan	Ladakhi: Leh	Ladakhi: Nubra
76. turmeric	čazgaʰ	tongara	yungpe		—	—	—	—
77. garlic	rgokpa	rgokpa	zgokpa	lasər	rgopha	gɐkpa	rgokpa	rgokpa
78. onion	tsoŋ	tsoŋ	tsoŋ	tsoŋ	tsoŋ	tsoŋ	tsoŋ	tsoŋ
79. cauliflower	U	U	U	tsonkər				
80. tomato	U?	pəgam	pəgam	Chinese				
81. cabbage	U	U	U	tsonkər bu				
82. oil	poɾʌn	poɾʌn	maɾnakʰ	²nöm	maɾnak	num	məŋak	—
83. salt	tsa	tsa	tsa	tsa	tsʰa	tsʰa	tʂʰa	—
84. meat (raw)	stolkča	tsəskan	ša	šʌ	ša	ša	ša	ša
85. fat	abgoš	abgoš	šk ʌŋ	tsoŋbu				
86. fish	nya	nya	nya	nya	nya	nyɐ	nya	nyɐ
87. chicken	bya	bya	čamo	šyau	čapo	čaša	čapo	čapo
88. egg	tuɻ	byabzon	tuɻ	gonga	tuɻ	čatɛ	ʈuɻ	tuɻ
89. cow	ba	bay	balaŋ	walə	pʌši	kɐŋa	bəlaŋ	balaŋ
90. buffalo	ʔlʰay	ʰlay	ʰmai	mahe	garmo	maihɛ	ɭaŋʈo	—

	PURIK	BALTI	SHAMSKAT	AMDO	Zanskari	Lhasa Tibetan	Ladakhi: Leh	Ladakhi: Nubra
*91. milk	ɔ̀rdzen	ɔ̀rdzen	oma	oma	oma	o·ma	oma	ọwa
*92. horns	ročo	ʄoᵃ	richo	ʾrah	řačo	řačo	řučo	řučo
93. tail	zugma	zugma	jolah	ɲama	ɲama	šugu	ɲama	šŋạ
94. goat	ʄa	ɽabakʰ	ɽamaʰ	řama	řama	řa	řama	ɭukʰ
95. dog	kʰi	kʰi	ki	čö	ki	čị	kʰi	khi
96 snake	ʄzbul	ʄzbul	butsik	ɽu				
97. monkey	šadi	šadi	manu	ʰtui				
98. mosquito	čari	čari	řamo	aiyontsö	—	tugdạ	temo guk čik	řaŋgụ
99 ant	ʄarkʰatu	ʄarkʰatu	butčik	čokma	ane	toᵃma	temo gu tsik	dzaŋgi
100. spider	taɭskan	taɭskan	bʰoŋ	dum	—	karatom	tʰaks khan	bathakhskan
101. name	mụŋtaks	mụŋ	mụŋ	nyụŋ				
102. man	mị	mị	me	po	putza	pʰo	putsʰa	mi
103 woman	ane	ane	ane	štɭmɭ	pomo	no	pomo	bọ
104. child	pru	pru	tugi	šeỵi	tuġu	tuġụ	ʇuġu	tuġu
*105. father	baba	aʈa	aba	apa	aba	ᵃbala	aba	aba

	PURIK	BALTI	SHAMSKATAMDO		Zanskari	Lhasa Tibetan	Ladakhi: Leh	Ladakhi: Nubra
*106. mother	ama	ama	ama	ama	ama	amə	ama	ą̇·
107. older bro.	kaka	kašogo	ačo	aga čembo	ačo	puˌbö̱ čola	ačo	ačo
108. yg. bro.	nono	katsuntse	no	aga čoŋa	no	puˌbö̱ name	nono	no
*109. old sis.	ače	ačečogo	ače čenmo	aje čea	ače	sʏŋmo pu	ače	ače
110. yg. sis.	*nomo	nono	nomo	aje čoŋa	nomo	sʏŋmo name	nomo	nomoˌ
111. son	mutza	bu	tugu	əwə	putzah	čoŋąˌ	putsah	butsa
112. daughter	*bomo	bomo	butsa^h	sʏmo^u	pomąˌ	kyemęˌ	pomo	boo
113. husband	makpa	ašja^h	ziˌmat^h	nʏru	makpah	čöšam	məkpa	məkpa
114. wife	nama	bustroŋ	ane	nugmo	nama	čoŋąˌ	nama	nąˌ
115. boy	butza	butza	tugu	salu				
*116. girl	bomo	bomo	pomo	šimo				
117. day	zak	zak	zak^h	nyi čik	nyima	nyima	nyima	nyima
118. night	tsan	tsan	tsan	gonda numo	tsan	tęˌ	tshan	tshan
119. morning	ŋatok	gyofa^h	ŋatok^h	huŋaro	ŋatok	šoke	pi ŋatok^h	šŋatok^h
120. noon	tsatpa	nyima pšin	nyima to?	niŋą	nyimi kuŋ	nyuŋ gu	dzaŕa	k^{h}aul

	PURIK	BALTI	SHAMSKAT AMDO		Zanskari	Lhasa Tibetan	Ladakhi: Leh	Ladakhi: Nubra
121. evening/last night	pʰtʰok	pʰtʰok	syamo?	humo	ninup	koonda	pithok	phitokh
122. yesterday	aske	aske	aske	hi kaɾstuŋ	daŋ	kɛ·sa	ḍaŋ	ḍaŋ
123. today	ḍɾiŋ	ḍɾiŋ	ḍɾiŋ	teɾuŋ	dʻɾiŋ	teři?	ḍɾiŋ	ḍiʔiŋ
124. tomorrow	gundʻea	gundʻea	aske	hunka	thoře	seŋi	ṭoře	thořa
125. week	ɾdun zak čik	V	ɾdunzak	denčuk	ɾdun zak čik	duŋjoa čik	ˡdun zakʰ	ˡdun zaks
126. month	ˡdaʔ	ˡdaʰ	ˡda	dawa čik	ˡda čik	ˡdawa	ˡḍa	ˡḍa
127. year	lo	lo	lo	lo čik	lo	lo	lo	lo
128. old	sŋiŋma	ˢnyima	ɾgatpo	ˢnʸuŋba				
129. new	soma	soma	soma	soma				
130. good	ɾgyala	gyala/ʰleakmo	gyala	ǰaŋ	gyɛla	yago	gyala	ɾgyala
131. bad	tsokpo	tsokpo	tsoʔpo	mᵊša	soʔpo	dukčeʔ	tsopuř	štokʰpo
132. wet	šɛɾpa	ˡčo	šuŋ	lomba	lompha	lömba	lompa	ʰlonpa
133. dry	skambo	skambo	skampo	kamb	skampo	kambo	skəmpo	skʰampo
134. long	ɾiŋmo	ɾiŋmo	ɾiŋmo	ɾiŋa	řiŋmo	řiŋgu	řiŋmo	řiŋmo
136. short	ɾtuktuk	ɾtuktuk	tsuŋtse	toŋ toŋ	tsuŋktse	töndö	ṭuguŋ	tuʔuŋ

	PURIK	BALTI	SHAMSKAT	AMDO				
*136. hot	tsante	tso ču	tsante	tsante	tsante	tsʰabo	tsaṇte	tsʰante
137. cold	ʳgaŋmo	grakmo ču	ʳdanmo	čokwah	taŋmo	təŋu	ṭaŋmo	Ṭaŋmo
138. right	taŋ	ʳtraŋ	yaspa	ayeˀ	yefa	ye·bə	yuspa	yospa
139. left	yun	hyun	yoma	ᵃyon	yema	ye·mə	yoma	yoŋᵩ
140. near	nimor	nimor	nyemo	ˢtsup	dunla	tsa·l	nyimo	nyᵩ
*141. far	tagriŋs	tagriŋs	tariŋs	ᵃdjuŋ	tařiŋ	ta·řiŋgu	takgriŋ	ʳzuŋpo
142. big	čogo	ʳčogo	čenmo	če yo	čenmo	čembo?	čenmo	čenmo
*143. small	tsuntse	tsuntse	tsuŋtse	čuŋ čuŋ	čuŋtse	čindö	čuŋun	ču?un
144. heavy	ˡčunte	ˡčunte	ˡčunte	jamma				
*145. light	yaŋmo	yaŋmo	yaŋmo	yuŋmo				
146. above	kaṇot	kaṇot	kaṇo	tok	kaṇoṭ	ka·lᵊ	kʰatok	maŋpo
*147. below	yoga	yokʰ	ʳdan	yok	yogla	šöl	naŋkuk	nyuŋ
*148. white	kaṙpo	kaṙpo	kaṙpo	karo	karpho	ka·bo	kʰařpo	kaṙpo
*149. black	naḳpo	naḳpo	naḳpo	nu?o	nakpo	na·ko	nakpo	nakʰpo
*150. red	maṙpo	maṙpo	maṙpo	°maro	maṙpo	ma·mo	mařpo	maṙpo

	PURIK	BALTI	SHAMSKAT	AMDO				
*151. one	čik	čik	čik	sčik	čik^{L}	čik	čik	čik
152. two	nyis	nyis	nyis	^{a}nyi	nʸis	nyi	nyis	nyis
*153. three	sum	sum	sum	sùm	sum	sum	sum	sum
154. four	žibzi	žibzi	zi	zə	^{d}zi	ši	zi	zi
*155. five	^{r}šŋa	^{r}ga	^{r}šŋ^{h}	^{h}ŋa	^{r}ŋa	ŋa	šŋa	šŋa
*156. six	ṭruk	ṭruk	tuk	tùk	ṭuk^{h}	tuk	ṭuk	duk^{h}
157. seven	^{r}dun	^{r}dun	rdun	^{a}dei	^{r}dun	dö	^{r}dun	^{r}dun
158. eight	gyat	gyat	^{r}gyat	^{a}djè	gʸet	gɛ	gʸat	^{r}gʸat
159. nine	^{r}gu	^{r}gu	^{r}gu	gə	^{r}gu	gu	^{r}gu	^{r}gu
160. ten	^{s}ču	^{s}ču	sču	čə	^{d}ču	ču	sču	sčhu
161. eleven	tšukčik	tsukčik	čukšik	čiksuk	juk šik^{L}	čuk či	juk šik	juk šik
162. twelve	čuknyis	čuknyis	čuknyis	čuknyi	čuk nʸis	čuŋ nyi	ju nyis	juŋ nʸis
*163. twenty	nišu	nišu	nišu	nišə	nisšu	nišu	nišu	nišu
164. one hundred	^{r}gya	^{r}gya	gya	dya	^{r}gʸa	kyɛ·təmbə	gʸa	^{r}gʸa
165. two	su	su	su	sərə	su	su	su	su

	PURIK	BALTI SHAMSKAT		AMDO
166. What	čin	či	či	čərə
167. Where	ʼgar	gər	gər	kəŋa
•168. When	nam	nam	nəm	numyoŋ
169. how many	tsamček	tsam ɕn	tsam	čəgo
170. What kind	čiɓʰat	čibaʰ?	gə?tsakčik	čəmo zere
171. This	ʼdiu	diu	diu	dərə
172. That	eyo	aº	ḍo	həguda
173. There	disak	dyun	dyun	dəzo
174. Those	ʼasak	aʷn	aºn	pəgəzo
175. Same	tsoks	tsoks	tsaŋma tsoks	štikwa
176. different	soso	soso	lokʔsoʔ	kaka
177. whole	gaŋma	gaŋma	tsaŋma	ʰlolokʰčik
•178. broken	čʌks	čakpo	čakʰpo	tčukson
179. few	kačik	kaik	tsaremcṭ	nyonyoŋ
•180. many	maŋmo	moṭpo	maŋmo	məŋa

Zanskari	Lhasa Tibetan	Ladakhi: Leh	Ladakhi: Nubra
Či	ka	či	čin
kaṙu	koba	karə	kaṙu
nʌm	kadö	nam	nam
tsam yut	kadze	tsam yot	tsamšik
ibo	di	ibo	diu
aº	pigi	abo	eº
i	di	yu	di
a	penzo	aºn	e
tsoʔse	čikpa	tsoks	dzoks
soso	kaga	sʰoso	sʰoso
		maŋpo	maŋpo

	PURIK	BALTI	AMDO SHAMSKAT	Zanskari	Tibetan	Ladakhi: Leh / Nubra
						Leh: čaŋma
181. all	gaŋma	gaŋma	tsaŋma			lokse
182. eat	ˈdonˈzuˈ bɛɛs/ˈzanzaʰˈ		začɛs			so
183. bite (v)	čatba	sotaba	sotapčɛs			sejəb
184. be hungry	ˈšˈtoksɛt	ʰtoktse	stokšɛs			he-ta kooge
185. drink	ˈdonˈ/tuŋ	zbɛs/tʰuŋma	tuŋčɛs			toˈŋ
186. be thirsty	ˈškomsɛt	skoŋspa	skumšɛs			kha komgu
187. sleep	niːtokʰ	ˈzimspa/nyalba	nit taŋčɛs			enyekuke
188. lie down	skyoŋ	skyaŋma	ria soŋ sanit			nyá
189. sit down	ˈzuks/saˈduk	salazduk	saḍukʰ			dun
190. give	ˈtoŋ	ˈtaŋma	toŋ			šin
191. burn (wood)	talbaʰ	mebarba	tamšɛs			nyimbər
192. die	snyalbaʰ	šea	ŋaričɛs			šəsuŋ
193. kill	saṭpa	ˈdaba	ˈdunčɛs			sed
194. fly (bird)	pʰuriba	pʰuriba	puričʼa			pər
195. walk	ˈdulbaʰ	dulbaʰ	dulčɛs			kunba

Ladakhi: Nubra: tončɛs; zukčɛs; taŋčɛs; dulčɛs

	PURIK	BALTI	SHAMSKAT	AMDO	Zanskari	Lhasa Tibetan	Ladakhi: Leh	Ladakhi: Nubra
*196. run	bandayma	bantayma	bantaŋčes	djik				
*197. go	soŋ/skyot	ča	soŋ	soŋ				
198. come	skyot/soŋ	šoks	yoŋ	šyok				
199. speak	kasal/gyun/	mol	zer	šul				
200. hear	mol/zer	sŋa	nyon	nyön				
201 see	sltaʰ	štos	stos	ste				
*202 I	ŋa	ŋa	ŋaraŋ	ŋa			ŋa	
203. you (2nd sing.) inf.	ŋaraŋ/kyeraŋ	kyaŋ	kyeraŋ	čo				
204. you (2nd sing. for.)	—	—	—	čo				
205. he	kʰo	ko	ko					
206. she	kʰo	ko	ko/ane	mö				
207. we (incl.)	ŋatar	ŋatar	tsayma	hano				
208. we (excl.)	kuntiŋ	ŋatar nyiska	ŋatar nyiska					
209. you (pl.)			kyeraŋ nyiska čuzo					
*210. they	kon	kon	khoŋ tsayma	kozo				